The COMMONWEAL

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Editors: PHILIP BURNHAM, EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.
HARRY LORIN BINSSE, *Managing Editor;* MICHAEL WILLIAMS, *Special Editor;* C. G. PAULDING, *Literary Editor;* JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager.*

The Pearl Harbor Report

JAPAN attacked at Pearl Harbor on a peaceful Sunday morning, and the fact that this adjective *peaceful,* so habitually associated with the noun *Sunday,* should still have been apposite under the special circumstances of December 7, 1941, is a matter of deep regret for the entire nation. A competent investigating committee now explains how it came about that the authorities at Pearl Harbor permitted that area, on that fateful morning, to present such an unjustifiably peaceful oasis in a troubled and nervous world. The facts of their findings are simple: warnings had been sent to Hawaii—not as specific as they appeared at a first reading—but in spite of these warnings: "there has been among responsible commanders and their subordinates, without exception, a conviction, which persisted up to December 7, 1941, that Japan had no intention of making . . . a raid."

Everyone has read this report with its picture of imperturbable apathy in the face of dramatic and varied stimuli. There are points which no one will forget: the efficient machine which transmitted the sound of approaching planes to uninterested ears; the "suspicious object"—a small submarine—sunk early that morning and the naval base accepting the news as if it were the milkman bringing the morning milk; the General and the Admiral who never conferred. And no one will forget the aviators who attempted to take off from the bombed flying fields and who lost their lives in the attempt, the courageous and calm action of all subordinate personnel.

The report was made public and the public is thinking about the report. It was issued to explain to the nation the immediate causes of the disaster. Very properly it does not list the material results of the disaster. But it is those grievous results which give it importance. Pearl Harbor was not simply an error in theory. What is the public reaction?

Each one of us will admit readily that he shared the apathy felt in Hawaii before the attack. But admitting this, we would also say that we are not technicians, not admirals, not generals. We would say that we have a right to expect that technicians show a technical interest in their duties. And we would ask one question. Why was not a formal order sent from the Navy Department and from the War Department placing all Pacific bases on the alert at a time when both these departments were aware that the Japanese negotiations were about to fail?

Motes and Beams

WE, AS AMERICANS, believe that the present war is—at least in larger part—for liberty and justice. We believe that it is to guarantee the rights of unpopular minorities—of Jews, of Catholics, of Slavs in German lands, of Germans in Slav lands. If all men loved one another, it would scarcely be necessary for these rights to be guaranteed; the fact that such guarantees are needful merely demonstrates what we all sadly know—the fact of social antipathies and hatreds. Such antipathies and hatreds we probably cannot eradicate, however much it is our first duty to curb them in ourselves and our second to see to it that they do a minimum of wrong. . . . And we are in a war to guarantee men against their evil effects. It is, therefore, all the more a matter for Americans to ponder that, within a few weeks of the beginning of our active participation in this war, a peculiarly atrocious lynching should have taken place in our country. Who are we to reproach the nazis with their concentration camps for Jews if we ourselves can drag a Negro through the streets and then ignite him with gasoline, for the pleasure of a crowd of 300 acquiescent spectators? Justice is the more violated because this deed was done, not by an organized party for considered political ends, but by representatives of the people, acting spontaneously on their own account. A few more such incidents would go far toward vitiating whatever good motives we have in these evil days.

Conscience and the War

THOSE who politically classed themselves and were regarded as isolationists were in the forefront in issuing public statements in favor of vindicating the national honor after Pearl Harbor. They expressed their belligerency almost as with one voice. In the two months that have succeeded that sudden dawn attack, opponents of US entry into the war on religious grounds have,

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on the other hand, shown themselves quite divided in their counsels. Even conscientious objectors have split up over the several choices that lay before them, including going to prison for refusing to register, being sent to some sort of work camp or accepting disability ratings which so many draft boards have granted to objectors in order to avoid a fuss. The very humaneness of the current provisions for CO's and the way the rules have been administered have made it much more difficult for them to bear effective witness to their belief as to the immorality of modern war than it was in the rougher days of 1917. One of the most interesting attitudes to follow has been that of the *Christian Century,* a periodical whose open antipathy to the Catholic Church at least manifests real concern for the importance of doctrine. Yet its position in social matters is one with which many Catholics would sympathize. Ever since Pearl Harbor that weekly has been examining the case in which Americans now find themselves with fine realism and intensity.

No other group in America has expressed so acutely and so forcibly the reasons for which everyone hates war, for which so many find it repugnant to their conscience. Weeks of self-searching and analysis led to the following conclusions: everyone, pacifists and all, are fighting the war whether they will or no; the war is tragedy in the deepest sense, for mankind through sin has brought itself into a position from which it can extricate itself only "by doing monstrous evil"; the war is God's judgment upon the world whereby He condemns us to fight. In this sense the *Christian Century* maintains that Sherman's famous phrase could hardly be more apt. Regardless of the complete validity of each step leading to this conclusion, there are indeed countless signs that humanity is being punished in this world for its egoism, disobedience and pride. Who can say with certainty what is the rôle of the war in God's designs? But if individually and collectively it is viewed as a visitation, a number of its greatest evils will be less virulent, less certain to lay the foundation for future wars. Motives of hatred and vengeance will be less prevalent; determination to build an enduring peace will be more universally and practically manifest.

The next peace in the last analysis need not be merely a technical arrangement between governments. It must genuinely reflect an aroused conscience in the American people. Considerations such as these springing from a sense of justice and charity will inform that conscience.

From Labor "Unity" to "Cooperation"

THE QUICK Lewis unity flare-up in the labor unions has now settled down into a new move toward cooperation: cooperation between the CIO and AFL, and cooperation between the labor unions and the government. The sharpness and speed with which Lewis's initiative toward a merger of the two union organizations was cut down proves that many different forces in the labor movement reacted all at once with hair-trigger rapidity. The President's alternative proposal for cooperation rather than merger, his attack and revenge upon Lewis, and the acceptance by the AFL and the CIO of the new move, end this particular episode. All these moves and counter moves in the field of inter-union relationships seem to be decided in rooms to which the public has little access.

It is probable that the *New Leader* summarizes well the powers that beat the unity effort: "It is apparent that hatred for Lewis in some CIO factions, the power drive of the communists, and the chagrin of Murray have crippled chances for a unified labor movement." It is more than passing strange that supposedly orthodox union men and Pegler both suddenly point out that "unity" is not really an important or necessary thing for the unions, after all the lamentation during the past few years over the divided house of American labor.

Now there is a new Labor Victory Board with three members from each of the two branches. It will provide, President Murray says: "the greatest participation of labor in government since the beginning of the labor movement in this country." The focus has been turned from the good prospects of merger of the labor ranks, to those of merger of the still divided labor ranks with the government. Supposedly, the emphasis will be upon production for the war. Actually, it would appear that such a board is better fitted for handling "horizontal" problems in industrial relations and political problems in the general public field. It should normally have great power in matter of wages and prices, unemployment policy, election to office, labor laws, etc. But production is principally a vertical problem, working up and down in each plant or enterprise or industry.

The jurisdictional problem, which involves the internal political problems of the whole labor movement, remains as it was, and it will be only by skillful and probably temporary and most likely government enforced compromise and bargaining that the new board will be able to handle that problem. One way or another, it was the jurisdictional problem—between union organizations and between individuals and factions within the separate unions—which was the most important factor in stopping the move toward unity of the AFL and CIO. The formation of the new board does not solve those difficulties; perhaps it will keep the lid on while they continue to be fought over in the offices and ranks of the still divided American unions.

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Russia as an Ally

By PHILIP BURNHAM

RUSSIA as an ally presents Americans with major political, economic, military and religious problems. This must be faced at the very time that we recognize with gratitude the blows given the nazis, our declared enemies, by the powerful and courageous Soviet armies. Even while realizing how greatly we need Russia as an ally, we are forced to consider what kind of ally.

This second world war was ushered into the plains of Poland by a pact between Hitler and Stalin. Last April, Stalin entered into some kind of agreement with Japan. In December Japan attacked the United States on a most impressively long front, with every sign of full confidence in the security from attack of Japan's position across the narrow straits where Vladivostok and Kamchatka loom up. On January 13, the AP reported from Russia's temporary capital:

> S. A. Lozovsky, Russian spokesman and Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs, declared today that Soviet-Japanese relations were unchanged, still being based on the neutrality pact of last April.
>
> His press conference, the first since war broke out in the Pacific, was attended by Japanese correspondents as well as those of the allied nations. His comment on relations with Japan was in response to a Japanese reporter's question.
>
> He added that negotiations were under way for renewal of the Far Eastern fisheries pact with Japan, which expired on December 31, but that they had not been concluded.
>
> He expressed optimism on the war against Germany.

It is not certain by any means that Russia considers her war with Germany very closely linked with the war of the United States against Japan. Whatever the strategic arguments, Soviet action in the East does not appear to the ordinary man like that of a "united nation."

The Soviet Union is the fatherland of Marxian communism. As a political and social system, communism is a method which the people of America have not endorsed. Communism must be recognized as a most powerful doctrine and revolutionary movement. It would be improper to dismiss it as bearing no threat to the good of our system. It would be equally blind not to attempt to gather from communism positive elements of progress for the benefit of our system which communism attacks, and which we all know embodies great ills and demands radical reforms. Sir Stafford Cripps, the Ambassador of England to Stalin, was recently asked: "Are the Russians still opposed to the capitalist system as much as ever?" He replied, "Of course."

The most interesting question, however, now as always, is not whether Soviet communism is opposed to capitalism, but *how* it is opposed to capitalism, and *to what purpose*. Russian communism is more than a system in opposition to capitalism. As a political and economic régime it is a totalitarian tyranny, run by a dictator at the head of an exclusive, monopolistic party. Political power and productive property are centralized in the hands of the state and party personnel, together with control of education, labor, the press, culture, etc. It would still appear to be patriotic in the United States to question the advisability of such a régime, while sifting it for positive ideas.

Russian communism is also more than a system of politics and economics. It is Marxian communism, a welding of theory and practice: a world-view. Integral to it is the dialectic of class warfare. Integral to it is an attitude toward ends and means which forces a casuistry based on the power of the top of the party organization. No qualms of truth or justice or mercy have yet been able to deflect men and women in the organization from actions which the heads of the party decide will further the power of the communists. Reverses in political "line," switches in alliances, remorseless alterations from personal blame to praise, from praise to vilification (and murder) in dealing with individuals have characterized the activities of the Communist International. Psychologically, communism is a religion. It is materialism and is opposed to Christianity and the other religions based upon belief in God.

In his first interview after returning to England, Sir Stafford Cripps was reported (January 25) in the New York *Times* as follows:

> He was questioned on . . . the position of religion in Russia today. For every question fired at him Sir Stafford had an apt reply. . . .
>
> Sir Stafford sidestepped close questioning on the religious issue. He said the Orthodox Church had always been allowed to hold services, although the people had always been discouraged from attenling them. He could not say it was true today, he added, without hazarding a guess whether or not more people were turning to the church doors. It was his opinion, however, that the majority of Russians were thinking of more pressing issues than the revival of religion.

Finally, the news from the Russian-German battle front bewilders ordinary interpretation. In his article in this issue of THE COMMONWEAL, Mr. Paar-Cabrera clarifies some pertinent questions which have naturally troubled American readers of our newspapers. The Russian question is no red herring. It is inevitable.

Reactions to Russo-American relations

An influential number of Americans declines to recognize that there is any particular question about Russia. The considerations mentioned above would either be contested or else written down as of no present or future importance. This reaction is naturally that of our domestic communists, and also that of the more whole-hearted fellow travelers. It is also, I believe, common to a much

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wider public whose position toward the war has been from the beginning — mostly from before Munich — single-mindedly anti-Hitler and violently negative. The more absolutely one's position is singly and simply to beat down Hitler and his nazi colleagues, the more extraneous are questions about the character and other aims of anyone who, through any chance or contingent policy, is for the moment opposing Hitler.

These people exert pressure for continued American support of the Russian line of battle and their weight is in the balance against throwing everything to our own lines against Japan and to the defense of the Americas. They conceive of the war *en bloc* completely, and feel our front is before Mozhaisk just as fully and truly as it is before Hawaii. At home the communist virus is accepted as part of our own heart's blood. In unions, in government service, in public bodies, relief societies, in clubs and "cultural movements," communist infiltration, organization, domination is to be welcomed as normal, natural, and healthy.

There is an antithetical reaction to the Russian question of "isolation." So far this has not been as vocal or as widespread as the other, but one hears that it bites deep in various groups and regions. In the same manner as the communists and their sympathizers line up on the identity side, so the various forms of nazis and fascists and their sympathizers are found here. Many of the people who had an anti-communist fixation, "red baiters" and the like who (unlike a good number of their company) find it difficult or improper to make rapid switches, react against the Russian ally toward isolation. I believe there are also many others, however, who have right along conceived of a "continental" policy for this country, and who have taken a strictly empirical view of the war and deliberately adopted a "balance of power" concept of national interest, who incline in this direction. They do not accept the picture of a single, universal war, with the same issues dividing every battle front. They refuse to see America's responsibility or power to regulate the affairs of Europe, Asia or the interior of any non-American region, and they do not admit the reality of the challenge threatening this continent.

The reaction of isolation tends toward despair of the possibility of world-wide acceptance of social and political principles. On the one hand, it views with critical realism the departure of any nation from the standards of the "Atlantic Charter" and "Four Freedoms," etc., and on the other, it refuses to accept any commission to struggle for them on a world scale. It seems to be a gamble for necessarily limited gains: limited security for one system in the Americas, separated from a world where other centers of power would have to be played off by force, diplomacy and a correlation of national or imperial interest so that they would not or could not threaten the balance.

Quid pro quo

The position of an American in the war seems to me to force a different reaction from these two extremes. It is rather a *"quid pro quo"* reaction, and one seeking knowledge and understanding while trying to preserve freedom of movement and national integrity. We don't want to be traitors or fools. Isn't it possible for Americans to lay their cards on the table with each other, and also with the Russians? Most of us here in this country hold different philosophies and religions from the Russians who run the Soviet Union. Unlike Sir Stafford Cripps, most of us here consider this important: of quite fundamental importance. The way to treat such a difference is to try to speak with each other loyally. We should really try to understand the position of the other, eliminate misunderstandings where there are not important genuine differences, and set forth the conflicting theses and policies in a manner which is comprehensible to all. Certainly the Christian idea is to make Christianity known as it is, and, by appealing to the mind and heart, overcome the real impediments. The possibility of being deceived does not excuse deceiving others or ourselves.

The United States and the United Soviets are seeking different types of societies. The attempt to achieve these conflicting social ends necessarily involves conflict. Where there is no way to by-pass the contradiction but where there is genuine conflict in the material and institutional field, then the United States must naturally work toward the social end we sincerely believe in, by checking and balking the Soviets. For instance, no realistic content could be given the Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms which would not be at variance with communist purposes. It would seem normal for the US to insist upon having just as many diplomatic, consular, press and other civilian representatives in the Soviet Union as we should decide are necessary to see that the strength we may be able to furnish Stalin is not being used to frustrate our own purposes.

Because the two countries are working for different types of societies (and because, merely, they are different countries of great dimensions in different environments) their war objectives—naval, air, military, economic, propagandistic—are in some respects different. The hard-pressed US cannot afford to let its supplies, its forces, its world position be used for those Soviet war aims which are not ours and which may well be at some points antagonistic to ours. We have, likewise, no right to use the Soviets for any aims we may have which conflict with theirs.

If it is still true, it is still fantastic that there are practically no American army observers on the fronts of the Russian armies. We could well relate proportionately our help to Russia with

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the knowledge we are aided in getting about how things are going there. American aid is going to Russia on the assumption that their fight against Hitler is part of a general war which we are waging against Japan and Hitler together. It would be stupid to lend that aid without guaranteeing that assumption.

Overselling a policy?

The administration in Washington has every reason of interest to deal with Russia on a *quid pro quo* basis which would include all this and an infinite amount of additional checking too. Theirs is the principal responsibility for American integrity, and they are no doubt working to assure it. One's certainty that the administration is doing this effectively is shaken by several things. There has been a concerted effort to "sell" the Soviets to the public. The technique has not been to isolate the real differences and deal with them item by item frankly with the Russians and with the people here. Rather, big guns have been turned on the propaganda field, firing away to obliterate the idea that the US has serious differences with Russia and the Communist International. Hopkins, Davies, Harriman, the President himself and a host of others have been encouraging the impression that the Stalin régime is something like a combination of Washington's, Jefferson's and Lincoln's, and functioning under a similar constitution. Pressure, probably informal and private and brought on by the miasmic atmosphere which hush-hushing the problem engenders, has halted the publication of books and articles which picture the communists in a less flattering if more realistic light.

Probably those responsible for conducting the war are attempting to be politically realistic. The CP line is support for the war and of course for the Russian front. The big problem is probably judged to be selling the war thoroughly to as many people as possible, and selling it so fully that those in charge can take whatever steps their strategy demands in disposing American forces throughout the world with full public support. The CP is also likely to be on the government side in undertaking domestic steps it considers proper to centralize economic and political control in order to carry on the war and solve domestic difficulties. The administration doubtless has confidence that if the CP line changes in any matter it considers vital, it can easily smother these present assistants.

But confusion is not without danger, even if it does seem to ease the troubles of waging the war now. In spite of all the modern methods for influencing public opinion and domineering public reactions, we are not yet reduced completely to the status of Pavlov's dogs. The encouragement given the Marxists to propagandize, with all counter-argument frowned upon as next to fifth columnist, and the apparent acceptance of Marxist tenets by leaders of American public life may condition the people so that a bias is formed which cannot be suddenly shaken out. Then, the Communist International is a most effective organization whose grasp of power would not be easily broken if it got deeply and firmly set in America.

The most realistic policy toward the communists, domestic and foreign, would seem to be to engage in as frank dealings as possible. Frank dealing, that is, at least on our part, which openly limits our involvement in Soviet affairs and alliances and our aid to them, to the extent to which the Soviets reciprocate by acting according to agreed upon plans and by permitting us to know what we want to know about conditions in the Soviet Union and throughout its international branches conducted by the C. I.

The problem of Russia as an ally is not simply the problem of beating Hitler. The government has taken up the difficult job of cooperating with Russia to beat Hitler, without furnishing Russia the power and opportunity to ruin us on their own account as they pursue their own goals of world-wide communism. Because we must be grateful for the help Russian armies give against Hitler, communist politics are given no privileged status. Communism is rather a system whose concepts and practices ought to be clarified so that Americans can act upon them according to their best reason and their conscience.

There is certainly no reason why the true communists should automatically trust the United States. We are the strongest capitalist power. We sent armies against their revolution. They have been fighting Hitler on their own territory while Americans debated across the ocean. The US is fighting Hitler, too; still our full aims are not theirs. But let it not be America's part to breed suspicion and to submerge truth in confusion. Mr. Wohl's article in this issue of THE COMMONWEAL points out a hope that the forces at work in the war can easily lead Russia to a condition which the West would welcome as superior in liberty, truth and humanity. With sympathy we should encourage such a tendency. Men must go in that direction freely, choosing deliberately the path. Let us make it our path, and with humility show what we are trying to do, so that Russia may know and may be persuaded to join in the work of clearing out the road toward the peace with justice we must want as our goal. We do not fear the competition of the ideals of communist totalitarianism any more than those of nazism, if both are understood. It is no insult to recognize this fact. The US should welcome the same scrutiny by the Russians. You cannot go round suspicion; you have to cut through it.

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Passage to Freedom

The impact of war and Russia's allies on the Soviet régime of Stalin.

By **Paul Wohl**

THE WAR has opened a new chapter in the history of Russia. If the genius of history has thus resolved, it may be inspired by the same desire for freedom, independence and justice which was at the bottom of the revolution. This spirit is best reflected in Lenin's famous decree "On The Transfer Of Power And Means Of Production To The Hands Of The Workers":

"Liberated are the soldiers from the power of their autocratic generals," proclaimed this decree of November 21, 1917, "liberated the peasants from the yoke of their landlords. . . . Everything alive is liberated of its hated chains. With us the oppressed and exploited masses of the world. With us is justice. Our victory is certain."

This decree was soberly registered under article 22 of Soviet Russia's record of laws. Its last words were repeated by Stalin in his recent address to the Soviet nations.

In no country of the world, including nazi Germany, did the central government exercise so wide a control as in the U.S.S.R. Despite assertions to the contrary, Russian administrative methods are inspired by traditions of the pre-revolutionary *tchin*—the great Russian bureaucracy which saw to it that height and width of the back of every chair in every government office from the borders of Afghanistan to the Baltic Sea were regulated by uniform instructions. It could not be otherwise. These methods have grown out of the structure of the huge invertebrate country. Isolated villagers naturally take little interest in the general affairs of state. The contrast between a centralized government and a widely spread peasant population has always existed in Russia. The history of the Russian state is contained in the struggle between an all-embracing administration and a centrifugal, almost anarchical tendency. These two tendencies mark every phase of Soviet policy and explain the constant endeavor of the Bolsheviks to paint their party as a monolith.

Three times since the October Revolution did the political machine in Moscow overcome these fundamentally liberal and democratic tendencies. Today, for the first time in over twenty years, Russia's political cohesion can no longer be guaranteed by the ever-present vigilance of an infallible bureaucracy. Today, the judgment of those in defense of Leningrad and the Crimea is as important as that of Stalin and his Politbureau. The regional departments of the secret police are cut off from the source of their power. Whatever their equipment may be, whatever the training and the resolution of their men, their military detachments are puny in comparison with the army, and political commissars with army units lack material means of enforcing their decisions.

In the past, the Soviet government muzzled every one of the successive attempts at self-government, individual initiative and decentralization: In 1919-20, in 1927-29 and in 1936-37.

In 1919-20, the local workers' committees who tried to run "their" factories as independent communities were crushed by order of Lenin. The repressive measures of the central government led to the Kronstadt massacre. In 1927-29, the Bolshevik party with the active participation of almost the entire old guard, abandoned Lenin's "New Economic Policy" which had brought about something like the beginning of a farmer democracy. After two years of famine and turmoil the policy of collectivization resulted in the establishment of large state controlled farm units in which the individualistic peasant was to be ground into a disciplined laborer. The spirit of independence and self-confidence of the most active elements of Russia's agricultural population was broken. In 1936-37, a movement towards greater freedom from the political and bureaucratic machine originated among the new Soviet intelligentsia—that first generation of leaders and technicians who had been trained in Soviet schools. Again Moscow reacted ruthlessly; this time, under Stalin's personal direction. All offices were combed: state industry and transport, literature and science, army and police. Once more the Soviet nations were pressed into the steel corset of a rigorously centralized administration.

These three phases: Kronstadt, the Collectivization, the Great Purge, are calvary stations along the march of the Russian people towards freedom and progress. The two revolutions of 1917 were violent strides in this direction, so were the N.E.P. and later efforts towards freer economic and political organization. Every step forward, however, was followed by at least half a step backward.

The Germans were well acquainted with Russia's peculiar structure. They counted upon the

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inevitable loosening of administrative links under the strain of war and hoped that the centrifugal forces would eventually break up the Russian state. At the beginning of their campaign they believed that Russia's political disintegration was imminent; they still think that in the near future the whole Soviet edifice will fall to pieces. Their reasoning is based upon the assumption that Russian regional leaders, accustomed to following Moscow's detailed instructions, will become helpless and confused, once they are severed from the central authority. At the same time the Germans spare no effort to convince their Russian opponents that American and British aid will not arrive in time and that they are engaged in a lost struggle.

Mistaken calculation

Up to now every one of their political calculations regarding Russia has proved mistaken. Neither have they been able to arouse violent anti-Bolshevik feeling abroad nor did they succeed in driving a wedge between the Soviet government and the Russian people. Today the Russians, government, party and people, are determined to fight, and in this fight everything that was good and humane in the fundamental idea of the revolution might come to the surface. Nevertheless there is a grain of truth in German belief that Russia even today remains the colossus on feet of clay. This is no time for wishful thinking. It has never been more important to establish an inventory of our strengths and weaknesses.

There can be no doubt about the prowess of the Russian soldier nor about technical accomplishments of Soviet engineers. But Russian heroism was as great in the last war, and the Kaiser's armies were at least as thoroughly prepared as those of Hitler. On various instances when trench warfare in the West bogged down, the whole force of Imperial Germany and her Central European and Turkish allies was concentrated in the East.

However heartening the recapture of Rostov and the present advance of the Soviet armies may be, neither our sympathy with the Russian people nor the good-will generally felt towards the spirit of the original revolution should prevent us from seeing that in six months of war the Red Army has retreated much farther than the armies of the Czar did in three years. This retreat was not a strategical maneuver but a tactical necessity under constant enemy pressure. The old scheme of luring the invaders into the interior had been abandoned by the Soviet general staff in favor of a plan for long drawn defense behind cleverly designed fortifications looking toward eventual offensive sallies. These defenses cracked. The new winter offensive of the Red general staff is encouraging and will certainly contribute to Germany's eventual defeat, but we must not forget that the armies of the Czar also had three powerful offensives to their credit, actually encircled Hindenburg's armies in Poland and advanced many hundred miles to the Hungarian and Prussian borders.

In order to explain their military deficiency Soviet Russians stress the relatively poor industrial equipment of their country and the disproportion between their railroad system and the extent of their territory. Taken at its face value this argument tends to make the exploits of the Red Army appear even less favorable as compared with those of the Russian armies of 1914-17. This, however, is not altogether accurate since pre-revolutionary Russia was not quite as badly equipped as Soviet apologists would have us believe. From 1890 to 1913 Russia built 20,500 miles of railroads, slightly more than the Soviet government in the same number of years. Industrial activity was such that in the decade before the first world war passenger and freight traffic doubled. In proportion to track mileage Imperial Russia had more locomotives than the U.S.S.R. Imperial Russian railway engineers had such remarkable feats to their credit as the Trans-Siberian and the Trans-Caspian railroads and were frequently consulted abroad. It was in Czarist Russia that Alexander De Seversky built the world's first bombers.

For more than fifteen years the Soviet Union subordinated its entire policy to national defense. The privations imposed upon the people for the sake of the Red Army were enormous, and it was said to be one of the strongest armies of the world. It is true that military experts were skeptical, but their skepticism was founded mostly on political grounds. Although the fact that the Russians have been able to withdraw their armies and to evacuate part of their factories remains a noticeable achievement, we should not forget Churchill's statement after Dunkirk: retreats are not victories. On the other side of the ledger, however, are three factors: the love of the Russian people for their land, a very real pride in the material accomplishments purchased at the price of so much sacrifice, and the awakening of a new spirit of individual prowess and responsibility.

It is impossible to foresee how Stalin and the inner circle of the party machine will face this military and political situation. In view of the self-advertised surprise suffered by the U.S.S.R. when Hitler's armies broke over the new frontier, there can be little doubt that a severe strain was placed upon Russian acceptance of Stalin's political infallibility. And with the Germans at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad his legend of invincibility became slightly tarnished.

The recapture of some 80 or even 100 miles of devastated land in the course of the last weeks is less important than newspaper headlines want

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to make us believe. Although Hitler miscalculated twice—first, politically, at the beginning of his campaign when he confidently counted upon an imminent Soviet debacle; second, militarily, in December when he withdrew large contingents of his troops from the Russian front in the hope of establishing winter quarters in the heart of Russia without serious molestations by Soviet forces—the Germans are obviously not routed, but are carrying out a systematic retreat in accordance with Hitler's world-wide conception of the war. The master of Axis grand strategy never concealed that he considered Britain and America, not Russia, as his principal enemies. Hitler is probably even now preparing a blow against Britain's supply lines in the Atlantic and in the Middle East. While his forces are geared for a lightning offensive through Turkey in the direction of Suez and Haifa, and perhaps simultaneously for a drive through Spain in the direction of Casablanca or even Dakar, he still follows in Russia the example of Frederick II, Prussia's greatest military genius. Frederick did not hesitate to evacuate even Berlin in order to concentrate his forces against the one opponent whose defeat would bring him final victory.

Hopes

We hope and pray that Hitler's plans will be upset and that the power of maneuver of the Russian armies will still be such that the Germans can be taken into a pincer before they are able to establish winter quarters. It is possible too that German morale will not bear the strain of the present retreat. Hitler's demoniacal visions and berserker methods may be more than even the ordinary German can bear. Here, however, we are deep in the realm of conjecture.

Conditions for the Russians are not rosy either. The further they advance, the more difficult becomes their own supply problem. Never in the last war was the land scorched as it is today. Russian morale too faces a test. However great the fighting spirit of the rank and file of the Russian peasants and workers may be, the country is governed by a relatively small nucleus of Bolsheviks, organizers, technicians, intellectuals and semi-intellectuals. Factual disputes and hatreds in the past have shown that the Bolshevik party is no monolith. The spirit among responsible party officials was not good. It has not been improved by purges. Skepticism and cynical indifference characterized many important men in the highest brackets. The words of a disillusioned old Bolshevik ring in my ears: "Kalmyk," he used to say, pointing to a portrait of Lenin, "Kalmyk, how much suffering you brought over us. Without you I would now be an apothecary in Kharkov!"

At present there is no organized opposition in the U.S.S.R. Russian patriotism has silenced the discontent which lingered among the rank and file. In others, the war and the alliance with America may once more have kindled the long abandoned hope for a revival of the good and true principles of the revolution.

Stalin was never as sure of his power as he appeared. He knew that under a system of terror and political denunciation there were no loyalties. In the Kremlin he used to walk through his apartment knocking at the walls. He and the leaders around him are realists. They are well aware that this war cannot be won by any transcendent virtue inherent in the U.S.S.R., but only by a common effort of Russia, Britain and the U.S.A., and that Russia is the weakest of the three.

The same process which has freed democratic tendencies in the Russian people has certainly opened crevices in the governing block. Voroshilov is no friend of Stalin. He knows that the *Khoziainin* (the boss) kept him for years under the observation of the hated Taïrov. His demotion from the post of first People's Commissar for Defense cannot have strengthened his loyalty. Other members of the inner circle are today in a similar position. It is a fact that before the war prominent Bolsheviks among themselves currently raised the question whether there was really such a great difference between Soviet and nazi dictatorship. Men like Zdanov, the party secretary for Leningrad who was regarded as one of Stalin's possible successors, were known as protagonists of collaboration with nazi Germany. The press has never mentioned him since the beginning of the Russo-German war. Voroshilov too is in the background. It is impossible to know exactly what is going on among Bolshevik leaders. At present they still rally around Stalin.

What help can mean

So long as Stalin himself receives effective and ever stronger assistance from his allies, especially the U.S.A., there is every reason to believe that he will continue the battle against nazism and eventually also enter the war against Japan with all his might. His associates will stand by him in this struggle. Their very existence is at stake. After the sacrifices in blood and sweat which the Russian people have made, the author of any policy of appeasement would now place himself in a very dangerous position. Conditions might change, however, if the association with America and Britain does not show sufficient results and if in spring the Germans once more thrust the Red Army back towards Siberia and the Caucasus.

The Bolshevik leaders do not regard their alliance with the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. as anything but a temporary association to ward off the danger of a nazi world empire. For more than twenty years they were taught to see in us, and especially in Britain, implacable enemies.

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"The present situation," a prominent Soviet representative recently remarked, "has one advantage: it neutralizes Britain."

The bitter cynicism of these words reflects the paradox which is at the bottom of our relations with the political leaders of the U.S.S.R. Seen with Russian eyes, this paradox is just as striking. Stalin fights not only for the survival of Russia but also for the continuation of his political system. Having identified himself, however, with the Russian national cause, he has become involved in a people's war in which commissars and soldiers, officers and OGPU-men are welded together in the face of death. The comradeship in arms which must ensue will be more effective than any of the subtle and theoretical phrases about revolutionary proletarian unity which for so many years have been pouring day after day out of the state operated Soviet press. This comradeship in arms and a division of responsibility extending to all walks of life, as it has never existed before, contain a promise of real brotherhood and freedom, or—if we may apply the term to Soviet conditions—a promise of democracy.

Thus, America's assistance which keeps the U.S.S.R. in the war at once strengthens the defense of Russia and weakens Stalin's position as an absolute dictator. In this capacity he is unlikely to continue since in the course of a long drawn war the rôle of the Russian people themselves is bound to become increasingly active. He is a versatile and shrewd politician who knows Russia better than anyone else in the world. In the past, Stalin has shown himself capable of many gyrations. The fate which guided him in his metamorphosis from a revolutionary to a paternal despot might eventually transform him into the truly constitutional head of a more democratic Russian State.

Whatever the outcome may be, we in America would do well to be more watchful of political developments on the Russian scene. They involve America's responsibility as much as events on the military front. A wise and determined policy of this country can bring about not only the defeat of Hitler but also the evolution of Russia towards civilized and democratic standards which were the original aim of those sons and daughters of a great courageous people who throughout the turmoils of the past have sacrificed their lives to the cause of liberty and progress. Only if Russia can be drawn effectively into the orbit of the Christian democratic nations, will this war lead to the world commonwealth which alone would give sense and dignity to the suffering and sacrifice which are ahead of us.

Mystery of the Wehrmacht

A military student traces Reichenau, Brauchitsch, and the strange change in German fortunes.

***By* J. Paar-Cabrera**

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE is a short study of the German military machine and its leaders on the Russian front. Much to the regret of the author, it cannot enlarge, for lack of space, on the bravery of the Russian soldiery, on their fitness as winter fighters in the sub-zero climate in which they were born and raised and which is too harsh for the Germans nor on the resourcefulness of the Russian government and the generals in taking advantage of the sudden turn from clock-like efficiency to blundering by the German leadership. The same applies to important political considerations, which bear no direct influence on the strategical and tactical conduct of the war.

At the end of last summer the German Armies had stretched a noose from Leningrad to Rostov which seemed bound to strangle the reeling Russian military might. Official communiques and maps published in all the newspapers proved that the nazis were in excellent position to carry through victoriously after a winter concentration on the southern Russian front. We are told—what a superficial analysis of the situation would in any case prove to have been self-evident—that the leading German generals strongly advised Hitler to pull back to the Berezina line in the north and go ahead with the southern plans. The generals were overruled. There was a sudden and bewildering change on the German side from painstaking efficiency to an utter courting of disaster.

Like our gallant allies, the British, we Americans have reason to rejoice at the series of German military blunders, which, given the Russian reaction, produced the consequent and inevitable German defeats. We would have better reason for unlimited rejoicing in this strange turn in the conflict, however, if we could be sure that it does not resemble the episode of the Arabian shepherd

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who prayed for rain and got not only a downpour but a flood in which he drowned. For the logical causes of the German defeats—if defeats they really are, and not callous sacrifices of hundreds of thousands of men in the first and deceiving phase of a tricky plan, culminating in an attempt to end the war with an unforeseen and utter disaster for the democracies—simply do not match Germany psychology, *real-politik* and trained military thought.

Principles of Prussian War

For the last seventy-five years, the principles of Frederick II, Clausewitz, Moltke the first and Schieffelin have been hamered into the minds of cadets of German military schools and German reserve officers. They have been the foundation of the elaborate and scientific training imparted in the academies of war, the super-universities of warfare where are trained officers for the German General Staff, to which German general staff officers periodically return to sharpen their stock of professional learning.

These principles branch out from the following four basic tenets, to which they constantly revert: (1) Before tackling an offensive operation, all officers, from the commander of an isolated company acting independently to the commander of a group of Armies, must be sure that they have the means of overcoming all natural obstacles and the fiercest opposition that the enemy is able to offer. (2) Never stage two major offensives at the same time. (3) Strike at the most vulnerable spot, leaving nothing to chance, never underestimating the generalship, the morale and the material resources of the enemy. (4) Go after the final destruction of the enemy, without being swayed by the false glamor of fool-hardy attainments, by the lure of empty triumphs and by the mirage of indecisive territorial acquisitions.

To the strict observance of these basic principles of warfare, the German military machine added a strict calculation of meteorological conditions and weather forecasts.

Why were the methods of warfare to which the Germans owed so many victories suddenly thrown into the bucket? Why was there adopted instead a system of warfare which looks like the strategical conception of a drunken Rumanian corporal? Such a swift and radical change is all the more surprising because the well known strength of the Germans, and also their notorious weakness, lies in a painstaking adherence to accepted lines of thought. Once they adopt a line of action, and experience proves its worth, it is almost impossible for them to stray from it.

Army leaders since 1938

To pierce the fog of the mystery shrouding the actual political and military happenings of Germany, it is expedient to review the evolution of the German military leadership from the end of 1938.

The official version of the surprising changes of that time centered on the announcement of the ouster of General von Blomberg for having married his secretary, who was a carpenter's daughter and as such considered socially impossible by the wives of the other Generals. General von Fritsch, esteemed as a great military genius, and instrumental in forcing Blomberg out of office as the tale went, incurred Hitler's disgrace. He wasn't purged outright. Like various other leading generals who dared to beard Hitler in his own lair, General von Fritsch was eliminated. But not outright. He died later, in strange circumstances, in the campaign of Poland, which he joined as a plain regimental commander, but wearing the insignia of his lofty grade on his uniform.

Then, over the head of General Walter von Reichenau, who was considered one of the four leading German strategists (the others being General von Fritsch, Blomberg, and that General Kress von Kressenstein who mysteriously faded from sight), Generals Brauchitsch and Keitel were appointed supreme commanders of the German Army. General Walter von Brauchitsch was a wealthy member of an ancient noble family; in German military circles, though, he had a reputation for tact rather than for strategical excellence. General Keitel was considered just plain efficient. The plodding, amenable type, a notch above mediocrity.

Then the war came.

According to reliable German sources, the plans for the three weeks' campaign in Poland had been drawn by General Fritsch. And the campaign was begun on the base of a meteorological report, stating that the rainy season in Poland would be late in 1939. All worked out according to German expectations.

The invasion of Poland brought to the fore the genius of Generals Reichenau and List. The following invasion of Norway, when the German navy, the German airforce and the German army utilized fog, wind, gales and blizzards at every turn for the confusion of the allies, confirmed the reputation gained by General List, revealed General Kleist as another remarkable strategist and created a reputation also for General Falkenhorst.

In Belgium and in the Battle of France, Reichenau and List reaped the greatest laurels. Reichenau directed the Tenth German Army, which defeated the French Army of General Corap on the Meuse, and separated the French from the English expeditionary force. List was responsible for the plans leading to the breakthrough of Sedan.

The battle of the Balkans, which shall remain

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in the military history of the world as a masterpiece of applied strategy and tactics, was totally directed by General List; and in it General Kleist played a conspicuous rôle. But, soon after, reports circulated that List committed suicide in Rumania.

List and Reichenau stood out as logical leaders of groups of Armies when Hitler attacked Russia. However, Leeb, Bock and Rundstedt were appointed directors of the three main fronts. During the following campaign, List was not mentioned at all. Reichenau, intrusted with the command of a group of assault Armies for a brief period, achieved the greatest German victory on the Russian front up to the present date and was pulled back into the limbo of inaction and obscurity immediately after.

After the retreat from Moscow of the battered Armies of von Bock, the latter is reported suffering from heart trouble and retired at his own request. Brauchitsch and Leeb ask to be and are relieved. Kleist and various other generals are reported in disgrace and under arrest. Then List's name pops up again. With machine-gun rapidity and swift but contradictory succession, our newspapers publish that he's in charge of the retreating central front, that he's unwilling to assume the responsibility of stopping the rout and just as unwilling to become the scapegoat of it, and that, fianlly, he's confined in a concentration camp.

On January 17 the daily papers and various radio commentators relate that Field Marshal Reichenau died of apoplexy on his way to Germany from Russia. Here was a man who had always been in perfect condition, had never been sick and was naturally periodically examined by doctors who succumbed suddenly to unsuspected apoplexy. And why had he been kept out of the running for so long? Why was he returning to Germany when the retreating German armies were faced with a disaster which he, more than any other general, could have been able to check? Finally, is it not ominous that a practically world-wide campaign, aiming to identify his memory with the nazi party, should precede his sudden and strange demise and that most reports discrediting him should appear, on the same day and in practically the same terms, in communications emanating directly from Berlin and from Moscow.

The day after the publication of the obituary of Reichenau, the newspapers announce that Generals Keitel and Halder are sick, and that Brauchitsch is ailing too, has been operated upon, and will be an invalid for six months.

Thus the kingpins of the German General Staff fade out of the war in the time of the supreme test on the eastern front. To all appearances, what remains to embattled Germany in the line of military planning? Simply the desperate resistance of its soldiers; and Hitler's declaration, issued shortly after the dismissal of Brauchitsch, that he will lead the German armies by intuition after assuming their supreme command. From the day of Hitler's self-proclamation as war-lord up to the present date, events in Russia have confirmed the well-known fact that the intuitions of minds strategically unequipped are not factors of success in warfare.

Meanwhile, information comes from the multitudinous channels which released the flow of propaganda endeavoring to represent the very Prussian and very Junker Reichenau as a fawning subordinate of the Nazi Party, and that a conspiracy to oust Hitler is budding in non-nazi German military circles. But—and here could be the joker—Admiral Canaris and General Marschner are mentioned as leaders of this conspiracy.

Admiral Canaris is a chief of military and naval secret services. As such, it is presumable that he maintains contacts with the Gestapo, and it would be too far-fetched to believe that the Gestapo wouldn't keep an eye on him if he were not trusted by Hitler's inner circle. General Marschner, in addition, doesn't belong to the pre-Hitler group of super-trained, all-soldier Junker generals. He's a new name; to all appearances he attained his present grade with Nazi Party approval. Therefore he couldn't be trusted by Junker generals in a conspiracy for the undoing of Hitler.

What it comes to

It is not easy to make a summary of the whole situation, and to draw conclusions from it.

It could be that things are as they look and as they are represented to be, as far as the German defeat in Russia is concerned. But, in such a case, what explains the disappearance of the German airforce from the Russian skies in the very moment when all nazi leaders should be convulsed by the dread of a military collapse, of a Russian invasion and of their own capture by the vengeful allies? The German invasion took away many airplane manufacturing plants from the Soviets. Germany, capable of building a very large number of airplanes every year, has also the use of French, Belgian, Dutch and Czech factories and plants for airplane construction, and no lack of domestic and foreign enslaved workers. Even with a flow of American and English-made airplanes pouring steadily into Russia, the Russian airforce, neatly inferior to the Luftwaffe on the beginning of the conflict, could not have succeeded in annihilating the Luftwaffe during the last two months.

At any rate, the author of the present article believes that the solution of the riddle could be found in one of the following five possibilities.

(1) The non-nazi generals, all members of the landed classes, may have expressed their opposition to the New Order, which threatened to destroy the privileges of their caste and their own

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welfare through the partition of their estates. Prodded by the strictly nazi forces, Hitler may be carrying through his last purge of generals in the semi-darkness of the Russian winter, in the belief that victory will still be his own because the German soldiers will fight stubbornly even without military leaders of genius.

(2) The Nazi Party, considering the game lost in Russia, is perhaps discrediting and eliminating the non-nazi generals, and even the pro-nazi generals considered unreliable, because they belong socially to the old régime, in the hope that a conveniently assembled group of nazi-appointed generals considered unreliable because they belong persuade the allies to come to terms with them, and grant a peace that would leave all nazi leaders with plenty of worldly goods, and still masters of the situation in Germany behind a front of stooges.

(3) The rift with the army leaders after the Russian set-back may have convinced the nazi leaders, and the influential personalities behind them, that the advent of the old-line military to power would bring about their doom more securely than a Russian triumph. Far-reaching nazi propaganda is perhaps spreading all sorts of rumors calculated to place a wall of diffidence between the governments of America and Great Britain on one side, and the fast disappearing corps of non-nazi generals on the other. In that effort, Russian propaganda would work hand in hand with the emissaries of Goebbels in every land. For Russia's plans of political, and possibly military, expansion over Central Europe would be served better if all the men capable of rallying the German nation in the event of a collapse of the nazi dictatorship would disappear. Just as also, from a communist viewpoint, a peace affirming the supremacy of American and British interests in continental Europe would be a lesser evil than the continued presence of a powerful Germany at Russia's gates, but it would still be an evil and a threat to everything for which the Soviet system stands.

(4) Or, much as we hate to think of it, it could be that the nazi leadership and Hitler's inner circle have concluded a partial or total agreement with the leaders of the Soviets, and that Japan has a part in it. After all, the earnestness of the nazi party in destroying liberalism, democracy and what they call the old order, is unquestionable. But the very essence of the nazi leadership is one of strange contradictions. Among other things, it preaches rabid anti-Semitism, persecutes the Jews as well as all the Christians who oppose the totalitarian creed—but it includes a large percentage of Jews and part-Jews among its members. It is based on socialism, but allows a few privileged ones to amass immense fortunes. On the other hand, communism declares that the Soviet state may find it expedient to pool forces for a time with the so-called capitalist states, and to sign treaties with them. But Lenin specified also that such treaties are not binding; that the Soviets not only can, but must, break them, whenever the interests of communism command it.

Under Stalin, the Soviet system underwent changes, and today is a brother under the skin of nazi totalitarianism. But Stalin is an admirer of Peter the Great and his policies, which were utterly dynamic and pointed westward. Consequently, the ultimate aims of Stalin and his chief lieutenants are very much of an enigma. They could contemplate a post-war Russia still allied to Great Britain and the United States. They could hope for a world-wide triumph of communism, counting on the fact that the nazis have leveled so thoroughly all the institutions and leading groups of western Europe, that, after a German collapse, the advance of Russian divisions in France, in the Lowlands, in the Danubian countries and in the Balkans would meet no local opposition to speak of—the more so because the hardy Czechs and the fighting Serbs consider themselves Slavs above all, and have been prone to Russian infiltration for a half century. The secret plans of Stalin and his assistants could, finally, consider a rebirth of the totalitarian pact binding together Germany, Russia and Italy—but with Stalin, and not Hitler, as supreme leader, and with the Russian army, swollen by strictly proletarian German units, playing the policing and the fighting rôle.

There is another thing to consider also: the German Imperial secret service, and the Austro-Hungarian secret services, which did not draw any line of race or religion, became a single combination after the death of Emperor Francis Joseph I, and stopped the evolution of a defeated Czarist Russia into a constitutional Russia fighting beside the allies by the simple expedient of smuggling into Russia the foremost exponents of Bolshevism, led by Lenin. Thereafter it was a matter of common knowledge among people knowing the secrets of either Germany or Imperial Austria that German-Austrian secret agents, under assumed names and Bolshevik records, had succeeded in attaining key positions in the Soviet state. These men were not naïve enough to indulge in bickerings of doctrine; and, through the years, they undoubtedly brought in former associates, or creatures of their own. What is the actual sphere of influence of the Germans and Austrians prominent in the Soviet system under an assumed identity? Do they contemplate a German-Russian rapprochement in spite of the actual war, or on account of it?

All considered, the English-speaking bloc would have to strain all its resources if all the fury of the German war machine would suddenly turn on

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the British Empire, if Russia should overrun Germany in the meantime and if, just as suddenly, a victorious Russia should take the stand of protector of all European toilers, including the British, against a battered British Empire and an America busy fighting Japan.

(5) It could be also that the German withdrawal in Russia is just a retreat, and a part of a world-wide war plan as yet undetected. It is possible that the relations between Hitler and the generals are quite cordial, and that all news to the contrary is a smoke screen, aiming to focus the attention of the allies on the hope that Germany may meet a speedy defeat, neglecting other theaters of operations which already are, or could become, as important as the Russian one. The conquest of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, with their treasure of rubber, tin and oil, a drive on India, the gradual Japanese conquest of the chain of Pacific islands stretching out toward South America, could be timed with an attack on Alaska, and a successive dastardly attempt aiming to keep the United States desperately harassed while the nazis strike in Europe or Africa.

The present successful attack of the reinforced African Army of General Rommel in the Lybian deserts, the convoys busy crossing the Mediterranean from Sicily to Tripoli, do not fit very well in the picture of a nazi supreme command worried by the prospective of a total defeat in Russia.

If such is the truth, however, it would be hard to explain the fallings from grace, mysterious deaths and purges of so many generals; for the Junker Prussian generals form a caste bound by centuries old ties of blood relationship and friendship. They were fellow cadets in the military schools, they are married to ladies who meet socially. It would be revolting to think that one of them could plan, or even suffer passively, the gangster-like removal of another.

Unless, of course, new and astounding developments throw a new light on the case of the purged generals.

The truth

With so many clues at hand, how find the truth?

The answer is simple: The location of the main force of the Luftwaffe by the allied intelligence services should be the key to the situation; for where the wings of the Luftwaffe are pointed, there Hitler will strike.

On receiving all kinds of information concerning the intentions of German generals, the allies could find out how things really stand by, first of all, making sure of the life and good health of such generals. The information must be tested, no matter how *bona fide* are the undercover agents who have been delivering the reports. It would be expedient to make sure that the informers in question didn't get their bits of information from disguised Axis agents, fifth column pawns of Goebbels or even communist propagandists.

After that, a painstaking examination of the records of the generals in question, from their first period of training in a general staff school, could point out who they are, what they like, their failings, their ideals and their aims in life. A survey of the relations of the non-nazi generals with the Nazi Party after the advent of Hitler to power, and of the outcome of such relations, would round out the survey. But principal stress should be placed on the turn of mind of the generals thus scrutinized, because a man who is not an out-and-out scoundrel will inevitably revert to his way of looking at life, and to his conception of duty. And on them he'll base his conduct in a crisis.

As far as the author of this article is con cerned, it is his firm belief that a born, dyed-in-the-wool and trained German general, of the landed classes, regardless of his like or dislike of democracy or of his opinion of the allies, may string along with the nazis as long as the moves of the nazis will not endanger German national power, but will never be a creature of the Nazi Party. For his tastes are not those of a crude and grasping totalitarian politician. And there cannot be true fellowship where there's not mutual liking and regard.

There could be exceptions to the rule, but that does not exclude the fact that, besides the mystery of Hitler's aims, there is another mystery to reckon with, to solve quickly, and to work upon: that of the real plans of the German generals and superior officers of the old school. Granted, of course, that such generals, and such superior officers, are still in condition to make any plans at all.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

FROM a highly valued occasional correspondent, whose experience of the actual conditions of the world crisis has been wide and deep, and whose own work both as a worker in and a writer on important aspects of Catholic Action is most favorably known, I have received a suggestion which this department of THE COMMONWEAL is privileged to make public. My correspondent prefers, for the present at least, to offer his most valuable idea anonymously, for reasons that are most creditable to him. The pertinent part of his letter is as follows:

"Don't you think that this is the time to start a movement among Catholics to petition the Holy See to give the world a Code of International Law, laying down the principles according to which the future peace should be planned and later on executed? If the Holy See embarked on this [enterprise] now in the middle of a World War,

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employing the best legal and moral experts on the ecclesiastical faculties in Rome, the world would see some positive effort and a hope coming from the See of Peter. By the time the war is over this 'Code' might be finished and the parties around the table of conference would have a moral yardstick to measure their conditions, and the peoples could judge if the next peace was just.

"The groundwork has been laid by the Pope's repeated five points of a just peace, and by the ten points of the joint letter to the London *Times* of the British church leaders. [When completed] the Code could then be sent to all governments for suggestions. If the nazis or Moscow should sneer at it—the peoples still would hear it and find out."

This letter was written before its writer could have seen what was said in this column about the efforts of David Urquhart, the British Protestant leader, prior to the assembling of the Vatican Council, to induce the Holy See to act along precisely such lines as are suggested by my correspondent—a fact which happily indicates that a current of thought is flowing in the mental and spiritual realm of men and women of good will independently of merely personal ideas.

That current of hope and aspiration embraces, necessarily, the leaders of the Catholic Church, and the leaders of many other religious organizations, but it also extends far beyond the outer and visible lines of organized religions to include men and women who do not give their conscious and deliberate allegiance to organized religion, but who in this day of the testing of all standards, all forms of philosophy, of governments and social systems, are increasingly becoming aware of humanity's desperate need for integral unity. Even as their nations grapple together, for and against each other, throughout the world, part of the struggle, and indeed the most important part of it, is the anxious endeavor to find and to apply positive and permanent principles of national and international unity, liberty and fraternity upon which to rebuild our future society. And many such minds are turning again toward the Church.

It may be permissible to suggest as a possible addition to the idea set forth in outline in the above letter, that the American Catholic Peace Committee, and the faculties of some of our Catholic universities and colleges, especially those in which the study of Canon Law is well developed, might give consideration to this idea of petitioning the Holy See, and simultaneously set up well-organized groups to make independent research and formulate tentative suggestions. If after the war, with all its miseries and losses and degradation, once more there are peace treaties, so-called, based upon mere expediency, or Utopian fantasies, and not upon the rock of immutable moral law, again there will be only an armistice and not a true peace, and soon the cycle of revolutionary wars must swing again on its fatal course. An ideal capable of inspiring minds and souls must be set before the world, and to that task the Church may set its servants in full confidence that its summons will move men to thought and action far beyond the frontiers of the visible Church. In his highly important address at Assumption College, Windsor, Ontario, on January 18, when accepting the Christian Culture Award for 1941, on the subject of "The Natural Law and Human Rights," Jacques Maritain has traced many of the deeper channels of thought which today tend to bring minds together, on such matters of universal human concern, both within and without the Church.

Communications

OPINIONS OF OLIVER ALLSTON

Mount Vernon, N. Y.

TO the Editors: In THE COMMONWEAL (January 9) the Reverend John Monaghan reviews Van Wyck Brooks's "Opinions of Oliver Allston" and takes this opportunity to speak more than slightingly of James Joyce. Father Monaghan quotes Mr. Brooks as calling Joyce the "sick Irish Jesuit" and comments: "The poor Jesuits! they should have been spared that belittlement. But could anything be more blistering to the poor soul of Joyce?"

As one who knew Joyce intimately during the last ten years of his life, I should like to say that I have never known a man kinder, more courageous, of greater patience. Joyce married and had children before he was twenty-five years old, worked at the most humble tasks to support them and, to the very end, his family was his most constant, pressing concern. This is highly remarkable on the part of a man who, in my humble opinion, was certainly as much, if not more, possessed by the artist's "daemon," as was Rimbaud. He was, inevitably, the gentleman in all his dealings, and his simple fortitude in the face of what to another man would have been overwhelming tragedy was an example for all who knew him. His friendship, once given, was treasured.

When the Jewish persecutions started in Central Europe (where Joyce had many connections) he received constant appeals for help, and I know of something like twenty cases of escape made possible through Joyce's help and intervention.

That, as an over-scrupulous Catholic, he should have been hypersensitive to the regrettable features of modern Irish religious life I feel must, in the end, serve to force the smug and hypocritical to a realization that the time is past when these things can continue to go unquestioned under the cloak of the Church. One might object that Joyce ceased to be a Catholic early in life. This is a fine point and one I am not competent to judge. I do know, however, that his entire artistic creation was a tribute to Catholic Liturgy, a subject he loved and knew as few Catholics do. I do not hesitate to say that, were I a Catholic (I am not one, though my husband and two children are practicing Catholics), I should welcome the type of criticism Joyce has made of the Church as it functions in his native land. For Christianity is sick today of the indifference of Christians, not of such vital, intense rebellion as Joyce's. I could cite many examples of his interest in the Church, not only from his works, but taken from conversations that covered a period of years, but then this would cease to be a letter.

Meanwhile, I hope very much that THE COMMON-

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WEAL, which I read each week with interest, will not again stoop to such low besmirching of this great artist. As the author of another article you once published wrote, the tragedy of our age is that its art should take place outside of the Church, which for so many centuries was the natural depository of all occidental art.

MARIA JOLAS.

WAR RELIEF

TO the Editors: It is because of the assurances which the American Committee for British Catholic Relief has had from the President's Committee on War Relief Agencies that help to our allies should not cease, and because of our peculiarly Catholic work, that we beg you to read and answer this call upon your understanding and generosity.

Our patron, His Eminence, Cardinal Hinsley, whose greatness of heart and wisdom has made him beloved and venerated by those of every creed in England, considers the continued maintenance of our nursery schools for little Catholic children in safe areas to be of vital importance.

We must also support our ever more important Anglo-American Clubhouse for Women in the Services, which was opened by His Eminence in London on December 18. By helping these little children and young people in Great Britain today, whether British, or foreign Catholic refugees seeking asylum, we believe that we are stabilizing and sustaining the citizens of the post-war tomorrow, through the sacraments and by assuring them of the Catholic influences to which they were born. Please realize that this is not, as it would have appeared a month ago, purely a British relief appeal, but an opportunity for you to show your realization of international religious unity, and prove your appreciation of that fact by sending your contribution, however small, to us at 1710 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.

MRS. FREDERIC SCHENCK, *Chairman.*

The Stage & Screen

Jason

SAMSON RAPHAELSON'S new play invites you to consider the plight of a dramatic critic who has seen life and people so consistently at second hand that he has lost contact with reality. Even his wife he has selected as he selects a fine phrase to conclude a review. Into his igloo of words intrudes a Saroyanesque young playwright with a penchant for collecting beautiful people off bus tops—and who is not averse, it develops, to collecting a dramatic critic's wife as well.

Mr. Raphaelson develops his thesis with skill and wit. His burlesque of Saroyan is brilliant, and several of his bus riders are richly comic. On the debit side is a certain bloodlessness which is perhaps inseparable from a problem play. With a few minor exceptions, the characters exist only as terms in the central problem; the author allows

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them no independent existence. Moreover, they are too articulate ever to be quite believable. The audience is fairly consistently entertained, but never moved.

Alexander Knox plays the critic with distinction and insight, and Nicholas Conte steals scene after scene as the brash young playwright. E. G. Marshall contributes ten hilarious minutes as the beautiful person who refuses to play ball. (*At the Hudson.*)

Café Crown

JACK AND CHARLIE'S will seem very tame to you when you stop in for your nightcap after "Café Crown." You will search in vain for the bus boy who is underwriting a Riverside Drive version of "King Lear"; for the drama critic reading aloud to its cast his review of tomorrow's opening; for the panhandler who will accept nothing less than two hundred dollars; for the impresario who has just composed a new song entitled "The Last Time I Saw Poland."

The Café Crown is reported to be a reasonably faithful portrait of the Café Royal on Second Avenue at Twelfth Street, rendezvous of the celebrities and satellites of the Yiddish Theater. H. S. Kraft has collected these characters into a warm, original comedy. For the sake of convention, he has included suggestions of a plot, but it can be safely ignored. What is memorable is the daft, genial atmosphere and characters, particularly Sam Jaffe as the financier bus boy and Morris Carnovsky as the florid Yiddish John Barrymore. *(At the Cort.)*

Revivals

REPETITION kills a joke but builds up a good tune. Sensibly, the Boston Comic Opera Company has played down the comic in its revival of "H.M.S. Pinafore" in favor of the operatic. The audience, it knows, isn't seriously interested in either the comedy or the plot. It's waiting for "I'm Called Little Buttercup," "A Maiden Fair to See," "We Sail the Ocean Blue," "Now Give Three Cheers," "When I Was a Lad," "Carefully on Tiptoe Stealing," "He Is an Englishman," "Farewell, My Own."

The cast and chorus sing all these with skill and spirit. Florenz Ames's Sir Joseph Porter is probably the richest performance, but the other principals lend adroit assistance. Kathleen Roche (the Captain's daughter), making her first professional stage appearance, lacked the assurance and volume to match her extremely decorative presence, but likely she has already corrected this.

On the same program, in rather startling contrast, the Jooss Ballet presented "The Green Table," its familiar series of sombre war tableaux sandwiched between burlesque diplomatic conferences. The latter are easily superior to the former in originality, but the total impact is arresting.

Both performances were the first of repertories whose next items, beginning February third, will be "The Mikado" and "The Seven Heroes" and "A Ball in Old Vienna." *(At the St. James.)*

The week's other revival was George Gershwin's operatic version of Du Bose and Dorothy Heyward's "Porgy and Bess." Here again, time has done the composer a service. "Summer Time," "A Woman Is a Sometime Thing," "I Got Plenty o' Nuttin'," "It Ain't Necessarily So," "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" have all gathered strength and depth in the six years since they were written. Alexander Smallens has compressed Gershwin's score to the extent of substituting prose dialogue for much of the original recitative, and this, I think, although I didn't see the original version, is a gain: I don't know of any other native American opera nearly equal to "Porgy and Bess," but at the same time, purely as opera it betrays weaknesses. Principally, its two chief crises, the hurricane in the jungle and the final scene where Porgy returns from jail to find that Bess has gone off to New York with Sportin' Life, lack both musical and dramatic climax.

But the melodies, the choral singing and the flavor of the folk background are more than enough to provide a rich and rewarding evening. For the most part, the cast is the original one, led by the stirring voices of Todd Duncan and Anne Brown. Avon Long is a new Sportin' Life, with a command of body and gesture as sure as Fred Astaire's, enriched by the innate comic exhilaration of his race. *(At the Majestic.)*

Obituary

"ALL IN FAVOR" was an item about a Boys' Club trying to raise the money for its rent. It succeeded and the Club Revel will presumably go on, although not, fortunately, on Broadway. Tommy Lewis turned in a knowing performance as the youngest monster, and Raymond Roe and Frances Heflin deserve to be allowed to resign. DAVID BURNHAM.

Once Upon a Time

THAT Edison Marshall's adventure novel was a natural for the movies literary critics duly noted in their reviews. That they were right can now be seen in the Darryl Zanuck production made from it. Especially in the stirring, robust part of *"Son of Fury"* which takes place in England does the exciting story come through in the fine photography of the actors strutting their stuff in eighteenth-century costumes and sets. This is the picturesque tale of an unfortunate lad in the days of George III when a bond servant was practically the property of his master. Because Ben's crime was having no name, his villainous uncle cheated him out of his title and estate. George Sanders plays the sadistic, unjust uncle with a vehemence appropriate to the story and times. Roddy McDowall, as Ben in the introduction, and Tyrone Power as the handsome, grown-up Ben, do a good job as the resentful hero who is raised and batted around as a stable boy while the wicked uncle thrives on his ill-gotten gains. But no meek weakling is Ben. After making love to his cousin (Frances Farmer) and receiving a cruel thrashing from Uncle, he escapes and takes to the high seas to make his fortune. After further rough and tumble, he and a pal (John Carradine), who knows where pearls can be found, escape from their brutal shipmates to land on a small South Sea island. At this point the picture goes conventionally Dorothy-Lamour-Jon-Hall when Tyrone

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in batik shorts teaches slant-eyed Gene Tierney how to speak English and make love. But Ben runs away from this idyl with pockets full of pearls; and back in England he teaches his uncle a thing or two about fisticuffs and justice.

John Cromwell certainly has directed Philip Dunne's script for all there is in it. The principals and large supporting cast, especially Dudley Digges and Elsa Lanchester, give their all to this rousing eighteenth-century swagger. It's too bad that the going-native-in-the-South-Seas business couldn't have been shortened, for the English scenes and the diatribes against servitude make exciting action cinema.

"Mr. and Mrs. North" is an amusing little piece that will let you forget the woes of the world for a few moments. Although it has a mystery plot, you aren't quite so concerned with the solution of who-dun-it as you are with the Norths themselves, an amiable couple living in Greenwich Village, and particularly Mrs. North, who has a penchant for collecting antiques and a greater love for talking. In their original stories, Richard and Frances Lockridge made Pamela North rather dilly; in his play based on the stories, Owen Davis let her talk her head off; but in the movie, written by S. K. Lauren from the play, Gracie Allen makes her a complete nit-wit. Gracie rambles on and on with her wonderful *non sequiturs* in her high, giggly voice. She rolls her eyes and jabbers constantly until she practically talks the police into thinking Mr. North did the murder. William Post, Jr., as poor, patient Mr. North is tired and bored, but becomes quite concerned indeed when his wife's out-of-turn conversation and clues lead to him. Director Robert B. Sinclair keeps his screenplay moving by taking his characters out of the North apartment and by the introduction of slapstick which makes the whole a little sillier than the pleasant Lockridge stories. The one-set stage play had the advantage of giving you more of a shock every time a corpse fell out of a closet. Perhaps there are a few more false clues and suspicious characters in "Mr. and Mrs. North" than are really necessary, but Gracie Allen gets 'em tangled and straightened all right, all right.

Something a little more timely, *"A Yank on the Burma Road,"* is about one American who attacked the Japs before the rest of US got into the war. It opens with an exciting killing in a New York subway station. When a tough taxi driver captures the killers single-handed, he naturally makes all the front pages, and the publicity build-up is terrific. After his hard taxi-driver's heart is softened by some Chinese children, he accepts an offer to convoy trucks loaded with medical supplies to Chungking by way of the Burma Road. In Rangoon he meets up with a girl who is for hazy reason trying to reach her husband who flies for the Japs. Laraine Day plays the girl as if she were really interested in the whole deal; and Barry Nelson, when he stops mugging, makes the heroic taxi driver convincingly tough and engaging. The Burma Road trip provides thrills and pathos, but Director George B. Seitz has difficulty in making the excitement come up to the picture's bang-bang start.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Week

Great Friendships

We Have Been Friends Together. Raïssa Maritain. Longmans. $2.50.

A GREAT turning point in the modern history of the relationship between Catholic thought and secular philosophy can be dated to the years immediately preceding the war of 1914-1918 and can be localized in France. It was in France and at that time that the crystallization in opposite camps of religious thought and the contemporary search for truth in philosophy, social questions and the arts, was broken down and a step made, once again, toward a perception of the hierarchy of values and tech-

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niques. Such a synthesis had always existed in the mind of the Church; in various historical periods it had found temporal reality; in various historical periods, also, both Catholics and non-Catholics had retreated into a seemingly irreductible isolation. It was into a world of closed compartments that Raïssa Oumançoff entered when she came to Paris, as a young girl, from Russia. It was in a world in which one was Catholic *or* intelligent, Catholic *or* scientific, Catholic *or* an artist, that she studied at the Sorbonne and met, in a class on plant physiology, Jacques Maritain who was to be her husband and who was engaged, that day she met him—with characteristic generosity—in starting a movement of protest against the ill-treatment to which Russian Socialist students were subject in their country. Both she and Maritain were intelligent, scientific, deeply concerned with art: neither was a Catholic.

This book is the beautifully ordered and sensitive account of their intellectual and spiritual journey to the very brink of despair and, beyond and through despair—which is the awareness of a world unredeemed, inexplicable and empty without God—to a free acceptation and understanding of the Catholic faith. The process itself of their conversion necessitated the hierarchical disposition of scientific training and method, philosophical training and method, human and artistic values and certainties. No method of approaching truth could be abandoned, no generosity condemned, nor any friendship betrayed: but all things must be set in their true order, converging toward the ultimate truth. It was in the process of their conversion, at the start of their life, that the Maritains found the enduring aim of their life: to coordinate with the order of truth that which is divided and separate.

They were not alone in their search; they made their journey accompanied and aided by friends. Psichari, Péguy, Bergson, Rouault, professors at the Sorbonne, artists and philosophers, are in this book never for mere anecdotal interest, although the presentation is living, but because of the interaction of their thought with that of the Maritains. And Léon Bloy is there with his vehemence and love. For the first time in English—and I could add in French—this extraordinary character is made comprehensible and his image freed from the distortions of admirers and critics. These men did much to prepare the position of Catholics in our times. It is essential for us to know them and through Raïssa Maritain we can know them now in their essential qualities.

Raïssa Maritain writes with rare serenity. She is, of course, a poet, and in many passages throughout her book there are sudden flashes of poetic insight, direct and immediate. In a passage concerning Pascal she notes: "The style best suited to the truth of spiritual things is perhaps one of purity and transparency and a certain lofty impersonality . . ." This could well be said of her own style and it is a paradox—and a great achievement—that this book which is, after all, an autobiography, should give one such certainty that the author is preoccupied with truth, and life, and other people rather than with herself. She praises truth and not her availability to truth. Speaking of her childhood there is this passage: "This *ennui* was vital and deep, and it lasted for several years. It came, I believe, from the great store of new knowledge of human life which had been pressed upon me over a very short space of time. These riches weighed upon my heart, and it was still too childish, too small to grasp them or to respond to them. But they were there, and they were a burden to me and discolored my childhood life." To this reviewer these words recall Saint Augustine.

"We Have Been Friends Together" is available also in the original French under the title of "Les Grandes Amitiés" (Editions de la Maison Française, New York). In this English version Miss Julie Kernan's prose is faithful and clear.

C. G. PAULDING.

BRIEFER

The Potsdam Fuehrer. Robert Ergang. Columbia. $3.00.

DON'T be fooled by the sensational title and the simplifying introduction—this book has not much relation to present day politics. It is just a diligent though somewhat arid scholarly biography of the "Soldier King," Frederick William I, who ruled Prussia from 1713 to 1740. He was the father of Prussian militarism, drilling his army to become the best in Europe and giving the military caste the highest prestige. Of course he was an absolute king and not a "führer" in the modern meaning of the word. His régime certainly helped to make Prussia become a great power, but you can't know the roots of nazism by reading his biography and skipping two decisive centuries of Prussian history. Modern Prussia is at least as different from that of Frederick William I as modern England is from that of Queen Anne.

The Inner Forum

Holy Communion in Hawaii

FAR in the distance rose eternal mountains of green jade, here on the dusty moor the breeze from the grey Pacific was blowing almost a gale, as some thirty young soldiers, bronzed and dusty, knelt in a circle to receive Holy Communion. And as they knelt there in mid-afternoon, in far off Washington, Congress was declaring war. Yesterday there had been dead men stretched upon these fields, others now lay dying in hospitals. To be forewarned was to be forearmed; therefore the chaplain went about ceaselessly hearing confessions and giving Holy Communion, visiting little groups by the road-side, penetrating thickets where men were guarding or preparing gun positions, or making his way to distant positions along desolate shore-lines so wildly beautful they would make Hollywood gasp with delight. "Wyd was his Parisshe," and the men far asonder. He was learning what it meant to be a "good shepherd," yet after all, this was only the plain, ordinary duty of a priest. For who could tell when death might again appear in the sudden skies, or over the rim of this peaceful light-filled ocean?

So this one group, of many, had come to confession, leaning against the trunk of a low sweeping tree. As many national strains almost as there were men, might be seen among them, Germans from Ohio, Poles from Pottstown, Weehawken and South Bend, a quiet, dark Frenchman from Louisiana, a Hungarian from the shadow of the George Washington Bridge, Ukrainians from the coal regions, a Catholic Chinese from San Francisco, and (you will meet them for their spirit has filled the whole earth) accents authentic of Flatbush or the Sunnyside yards. Feeling that the lengthening line of

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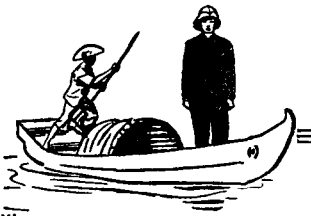
penitents might prove wearisome to those who had already finished their confessions, for not all soldiers are filled with heroic patience, the priest did his best to hurry. But they would not be hurried, this might be their last confession. Therefore it was mid-afternoon before the last of the long line had been heard.

Next the Blessed Sacrament was brought from the chaplain's car, not in an ordinary pyx, but in a parish ciborium. The men formed naturally, and all joined knelt down. One of their number began, and all joined in the acts of faith, hope and love. Then, the Latin prayers said, the priest went down the line, placing the Living Bread upon the tongue of each, and as he did so, it seemed to him that until now he had never understood why the Church said "custodiat animam tuam in vitam aeternam." What better guard then Christ! Then communion being done, the men recited the Our Father and the Hail Mary together, pausing slightly after every phrase, as if to make it a more intimate part of their consciousness. Then the priest lifted the ciborium with its Sacred Weight, blessing them solemnly and silently with It, before returning to the car.

Afterward he came back to shake hands, to inquire their names and home towns (what man is not flattered when by chance you know something of his home town!) and they were names as fragrant of the rich and varied racial strains of this our America, as a vat is spicy with remembered vineyards. "Father, will you write my mother a line, here is her address, and please tell her I made my confession, and went to Holy Communion?" "Father, will you do that for me too?" "Father, have you a medal?" "Father, will you send a money order home for me? They need it, and I've helped them so long, I wouldn't want to disappoint them now." "Father, when will you come and hear our confessions again?" And a late comer, making his way through the little crowd, "Father, I missed out. Would you mind hearing my confession, please?" Before they returned to their work they stood there, in little knots, not so much talking as communing with one another, and with the Lord Whom they had received. One thought what a fair image of the Mystical Body this small group was, and the words of Saint Paul came back to him, "The bread which we break, is it not fellowship in the body of Christ."

How many others had come those dark, sad days, "asking the body of Jesus." One gave Communion in the chapel at night, with neither bell nor candle-light to men going on guard in lonely, dangerous positions. Another morning the entire Catholic contingent of an outfit, some forty in number, received Holy Communion together, and at their head was their battery commander, a brilliant young West Pointer, a Pole from the Middle West, who knelt with as simple a faith as any private soldier, facing the great mess-table, upon which a white cloth had been spread, and where between lighted candles rested the Bread of Angels.

In another place one heard confessions on a railroad track for an hour and a half by the clock. Again, along a stretch of lovely sea coast the men were busy at what these dark ages call a bomb shelter. After the Catholic boys had received Holy Communion and gone and after the Protestant lads had been given testaments and the priest was preparing to leave, there came a young sergeant, one of the "spring lambs," as priests say. When at length he had received, and the priest was blessing him with the ciborium, he saw that the boy was fighting to



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keep back the tears. When it was over, the soldier rose, and as the priest turned away, he leaned over the wall of sand bags toward the sea, and bust into a happy sobbing that nothing could control. Wherever one went, it was always the same. They laid aside their rifles, or stopped their work. One of them went to call the other Catholic boys in the neighborhood. A few moments later they were all kneeling, again in that circle that somehow made one think of the Host itself.

One doesn't know the meaning of gratitude who hasn't heard the thanks of these men, who hasn't seen their faces shine with a new light after receiving Our Lord. During all this time, among some four hundred confessions heard and communions given, only one man flatly refused to confess.

But this reverse was somewhat balanced by the Jewish boy who asked for a prayer-book, and the Greek and Russian Orthodox lads who wanted to approach the holy table with their Roman comrades.

But why go on? Why mention the one youngster in the hospital, frightfully burned, yet who in the agony of his pain kept trying, trying to join his bandaged hands in an attitude of devotion, as the priest prepared to place the Host upon his tongue. Or the soldier (little more than a boy) who begged, "Father, let me go to communion tomorrow, it's my birthday." And next morning, fresh from Holy Communion, he was wheeled into the operating room for what seemed only a slight ordeal, yet he died upon the table, and the priest, hurriedly summoned, had just time to anoint him with the single unction upon the forehead, as he breathed his last. And as he lay peaceful in death, "breast to breast with God," one noticed on his left shoulder there was tattooed the one word, "lucky."

Of course our brothers in the Philippines have seen greater things. And must it not be the same in suffering France, in the prison-camps of the Reich, in festering and plague-ridden Poland, wherever there are priests to consecrate the bread, to offer the chalice. So in wartime men's sins are washed away, and they come easily and trustfully like children to God's knees. It is a humbling experience, to be thanked wherever one goes on these roads as if he were an angel of God. Years ago I remember writing that "whatever came out of the last war, a new love for the Eucharist and a wide habit of Holy Communion were at its close found to be deeply imbedded in every corner of the Christian World." The decrees of Piux X are still bearing abundant fruit. And whatever else may come out of this war, I believe there will be among us a heightened sense that to be a Catholic is to really belong to the Body of Christ.

SPEER STRAHAN.

CONTRIBUTORS

Paul WOHL was born in Berlin and came to America in June, 1938, as correspondent for Czechoslovak newspapers. He has been in a number of official positions of an international sort, particularly as Director of the International Chamber of Commerce. He is at present writing for American periodicals, including *The Christian Science Monitor* and *This Week*.

J. PAAR-CABRERA has served in many of the world's armies, including those of Spain and France. For a time he attended military schools in Germany and has kept himself intimately posted on the higher personnel of European armies.

Rev. Speer STRAHAN is principally known as a poet. He has taught English at the Catholic University and has done general writing for Catholic magazines. He is at present a chaplain in Hawaii.

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